

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00

COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 INR-07 NEA-10 NSAE-00

USIA-06 OPIC-03 SP-02 TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01

AGRE-00 OMB-01 SS-15 NSC-05 STR-05 L-03 H-01

ARA-10 AF-10 /136 W

-----125809 221847Z /42

R 221345Z DEC 77

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3931

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

MAMEBASY PRAGUE UIO

AMXBASSY ROME 376

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SOFIA 2548

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EEWT, ECON, EAID, BU

SUBJECT: INCREASING CEMA COUNTRY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL ECONOMIC

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PROBLEMS

REF: STATE 289920

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY SUPPORTS BASIC POLICY GOALS

CONTAINED REFTEL ON QUESTION OF WISDOM OF DRAWING CEMA

MEMBERS MORE CLOSELY INTO SELECTED GLOBAL ECONOMIC

ISSUES. WE ARE NOT, HOWEVER, OPTIMISTIC THAT BULGARIA IS READY TO PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE OR TAKE PUBLIC POSITIONS IN CONFLICT WITH SOVIET POLICY. WE EXPECT THAT, AT FORA DEVOTED TO NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, BULGARIA WOULD CONTINUE IN ITS FAMILIAR ROLE OF SUPPORTING, OR EVEN FRONTING FOR, SOVIET INITIATIVES. NEVERTHELESS, OVER LONGER TERM, SELECTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF BULGARIA AS OUTLINED REFTEL STANDS BETTER CHANCE OF PROVIDING OPPORTUNITY FOR SOFIA TO EVOLVE MORE INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY THAN WOULD A COURSE OF ISOLATING BULGARIA WITHIN CEMA AND PERMITTING CONTINUED INSULATION FROM RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK TOWARDS COMMON RESOLUTION OF PRESSING GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

2. WHILE IT STILL MAY BE ACCURATE TO CHARACTERIZE BULGARIA AS THE "MOST LOYAL OF THE SOVIET UNION'S ALLIES," THIS RELATIVE RANKING DOES NOT CARRY THE SAME CONNOTATION TODAY AS IT DID SEVERAL YEARS AGO. SOFIA CONTINUES TO LOOK TO MOSCOW'S LEAD ON ALL MAJOR AND MOST LESSER ISSUES. THE DEGREE OF SUBORDINATION TO THE SOVIET LEAD IS, OF COURSE, PROPORTIONAL TO THE POLITICAL CONTENT OF THE ISSUES. HENCE, ON INNOCUOUS OR LARGELY TECHNICAL MATTERS, WE EXPECT THAT THE GOB WOULD PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE TO THE EXTENT THAT ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS WERE INVOLVED, WHEREAS ON ISSUES WITH A HEAVY POLITICAL COMPONENT, BULGARIA WOULD INVARIABLY END UP SUPPORTING

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MOSCOW, AND IN MOST CASES NOT RELUCTANTLY. HENCE, IT IS IN THE MIDDLE GROUND THAT OUR EFFORTS TOWARD ELICITING A MORE INDEPENDENT ASSESSMENT OF INTERESTS AND ISSUES WOULD STAND BEST CHANCE OF BEARING FRUIT.

3. WHILE IN GENERAL FOLLOWING THE SOVIET LEAD, SOFIA WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO IDENTIFY ITSELF AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITH G-77 POSITIONS. SOFIA IS ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE ITS TIES WITH SELECTED LDCS AND VALUES THESE RELATIONSHIPS, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE AN ISSUE ON WHICH THE BULGARIANS WOULD SUPPORT THE IW COUNTRIES AGAINST G-77 DEMANDS. AT BEST, SOFIA WOULD SIMPLY BOW OUT AND LET THE WEST PULL ITS OWN CHESTNUTS OUT. IN ADDITION, BECAUSE OF ITS LOW LEVEL OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, BULGARIA WOULD HAVE SOME NATURAL AFFINITY WITH THE LDCS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, WHICH OF COURSE COMPRISE THE MEAT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SOFIA WOULD BE CHARY OF BEING DRAWN INTO MEANINGFUL MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH G-77 COUNTRIES THAT COULD ENTAIL THE INCURRING OF ECONOMIC OR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS. SOFIA CLEARLY PREFERS TO EXTEND AID ON A BILATERAL BASIS FOR MAXIMAL POLITICAL

IMPACT. (EVEN HERE, SOFIA'S RECORD OF ASSISTANCE TO THE  
LDCS IS POOR. LAST YEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, BULGARIA CON-  
CLUDED ONLY ONE AID AGREEMENT, WITH ANGOLA; SO FAR THIS

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USMISSION GENEVA  
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SOFIA 2548

YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN ONLY A FEW SMALL AID COMMITMENTS.)  
BULGARIA'S MAIN INTERESTS WOULD, OF COURSE, BE ECONOMIC.  
IT WOULD, HOWEVER, BE ALERT TO ANY PARTICULAR OPPORTU-  
NITIES TO LEND ITS VOCAL SUPPORT TO G-77 POSITIONS.

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4. EMBASSY IS IN SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT WITH ARGUMENT PRESENTED BY OTHER POSTS (PARA 4 MOSCOW 17880 FOR EXAMPLE) THAT BEST MEANS OF BRINGING CEMA MEMBERS AROUND TO RESPONSIVE POSITIONS ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES IS THROUGH LDC PRESSURES. GOB VALUES ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH VARIOUS THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE APPROPRIATE AMOUNT AND LEVEL OF CRITICISM FROM SELECTED LDCS. (WE HAVE IN MIND COUNTRIES LIKE VENEZUELA, NIGERIA, IRAN, INDIA AND INDONESIA WHICH MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO WIELD SOME INFLUENCE WITH BULGARIA.) SUCH PRESSURES WOULD STAND BEST CHANCE OF WEANING GOB AWAY FROM SOVIETS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES AND LEADING SOFIA TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.

5. REGARDING SPECIFIC NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS, SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, COMMON FUND, AND INTERNATIONAL GRAIN AGREEMENT, WE DO NOT SEE ANY ISSUE ON WHICH GOB HAS STRONG ENOUGH INTEREST TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. UNLIKE SOME OTHER EES, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT SOFIA HAS GIVEN CONSIDERATION TO POSSIBILITY OF JOINING INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS IMF OR WORLD BANK. HOWEVER, ON APPROPRIATE, SELECTED ISSUES WHERE THIS INTEREST DOES ARISE, EMBASSY FEELS IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO CONSIDER SEEKING TO INVOLVE SOFIA.

6. IN SUM, SOFIA FEELS SATISFIED RELATING TO REST OF WORLD FROM WITHIN CEMA AND THE UN AS REGARDS ITS INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS. IT IS HARD TO DETERMINE WHERE BULGARIA WOULD HAVE ANYTHING NOVEL TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DIALOGUE. NEVERTHELESS, IT SEEMS CLEARLY IN US LONG TERM INTEREST TO HAVE EES, INCLUDING BULGARIA, BECOME MORE ACTIVE, RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPANTS IN WORLD ECONOMIC  
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PROBLEMS. FOR THIS REASON. EMBASSY SUPPORTS BROAD CONSIDERATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF US POLICY OUTLINED IN REFTEL.  
GARTHOFF

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** EEWT, ECON, EAID, BU, CEMA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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Margaret P. Grafeld  
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